

first 30 minutes under the control of the majority leader or his designee and the second 30 minutes under the control of the minority leader or his designee.

Who yields time?

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONTINUING THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I rise today to call attention to the disturbing rise in anti-Semitism that the world has witnessed during the last several years. I believe it is important that Senator FRIST, Senator SANTORUM and others have come together to highlight the urgent need to take action to combat this serious problem.

As a public official and private citizen, I have had the opportunity to visit the State of Israel on six separate occasions. I will never forget the time that I spent at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in 1980, and on several other visits. Nor will the images that I saw at the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv ever leave my mind. Those experiences truly brought home to me the horrors of the Holocaust, and the role that anti-Semitism played in leading to the Holocaust. I vowed that I would do everything in my power to prevent this from ever happening again. Quite frankly, as I have said before, this is something that I never thought I would see again in my lifetime.

In May 2002, following a disturbing number of anti-Semitic incidents in Europe, I joined members of the Helsinki Commission in a hearing to examine the rise of anti-Semitic violence in Europe. I was shocked by the reports that I heard. Today, the news is equally as disturbing. Even during the last month, we have seen numerous acts of anti-Semitism, which some of my colleagues will be referencing today. I will also name a few:

In Paris, France, on August 14, 2004, anti-Semitic graffiti, including a sign saying "death to Jews" and a swastika, was found scrawled on a wall on the grounds of Notre Dame Cathedral;

In Wellington, New Zealand, on August 6, 2004, a Jewish chapel was destroyed by fire and up to 90 Jewish headstones were pulled out of the ground and smashed at a cemetery, on the outskirts of the nation's capital;

In Calgary, Canada over the night of August 22, 2004, vandals sprayed swastikas and anti-Semitic messages on a condominium complex a block from the Calgary Jewish Center;

In the Czech Republic on August 10, 2004 more than 80 tombstones were overturned at a Jewish cemetery; and

In Birmingham, United Kingdom, during the night of August 22, 2004, sixty Jewish gravestones were destroyed in a local cemetery. Community officials reported that stickers with the logo of a Neo-Nazi group were found on some of the stones.

It is also important to stress that we are not exempt here in the United States. At the end of March, the Anti-Defamation League released a report on anti-Semitic incidents that took place in the United States in 2003. In total, ADL counted more than 1,500 acts of anti-Semitism here at home. According to their count, 25 of these incidents occurred in my own State.

Last month, I met with a group of individuals in my home state to discuss concern with growing anti-Semitism. There was general consensus that this is, in fact, a problem in our own communities. Our conversation underscored the need to do all that we can to make the fight against anti-Semitism a priority in the United States, just as we redouble our efforts to encourage other countries to take action.

We should recognize positive efforts underway to promote tolerance and understanding, both at home and abroad. I am encouraged by action that is taking place in Ohio to work toward this end. For instance, last year, community leaders in Cleveland came together to form an organization called "Ishmael and Isaac." This program brings together members of Ohio's Jewish and Muslim communities in an effort to raise money for the medical needs of Israelis and Palestinians.

Other efforts to promote diversity and anti-bias education are critical if we are to succeed in creating more accepting and tolerant environments in cities and towns across the country. For instance, the Anti-Defamation League's "A World of Difference Institute" provides hands-on training and education programs that are used to promote tolerance and counter messages of hate in schools and universities, as well as corporations and law enforcement agencies in 29 cities in the United States and 14 other countries. Such programs should continue, and they deserve our full support.

We cannot be silent and stand on the sidelines as anti-Semitism festers at home and abroad. At sunset today, Jewish people across the world will begin the observance of Rosh Hashanah, marking the beginning of a New Year. It is my sincere hope that in this new year, the United States and members of the international community will make a renewed effort to stamp out anti-Semitism wherever it exists.

In recent months, the United States has taken significant steps in the fight against anti-Semitism. In April, Secretary of State Colin Powell traveled to Berlin for a conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe—OSCE—dedicated to the fight against anti-Semitism.

At that conference, 55 participating states of the OSCE pledged to take ac-

tion. During the conference, a strong declaration was agreed to, which outlines steps that will be taken to address anti-Semitism. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Distinguished delegates,

Let me sum up the proceedings of this Conference in what I would like to call "Berlin Declaration".

Based on consultations I conclude that OSCE participating States,

Reaffirming the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which proclaims that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, religion or other status,

Recalling that Article 18 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights state that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion,

Recalling also the decisions of the OSCE Ministerial Councils at Porto and Maastricht, as well as previous decisions and documents, and committing ourselves to intensify efforts to combat anti-Semitism in all its manifestations and to promote and strengthen tolerance and non-discrimination,

Recognizing that anti-Semitism, following its most devastating manifestation during the Holocaust, has assumed new forms and expressions, which, along with other forms of intolerance, pose a threat to democracy, the values of civilization and, therefore, to overall security in the OSCE region and beyond,

Concerned in particular that this hostility toward Jews—as individuals or collectively—on racial, social, and/or religious grounds, has manifested itself in verbal and physical attacks and in the desecration of synagogues and cemeteries,

1. Condemn without reserve all manifestations of anti-Semitism, and all other acts of intolerance, incitement, harassment or violence against persons or communities based on ethnic origin or religious belief, wherever they occur;

2. Also condemn all attacks motivated by anti-Semitism or by any other forms of religious or racial hatred or intolerance, including attacks against synagogues and other religious places, sites and shrines;

3. Declare unambiguously that international developments or political issues, including those in Israel or elsewhere in the Middle East, never justify anti-Semitism;

In addition, I note that the Maastricht Ministerial Council in its Decision on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination, tasked the Permanent Council "to further discuss ways and means of increasing the efforts of the OSCE and the participating States for the promotion of tolerance and non-discrimination in all fields." In light of this Ministerial Decision, I welcome the April 22 Permanent Council Decision on Combating Anti-Semitism and, in accordance with that Decision, incorporate it into this Declaration.

1. The OSCE participating States commit to:

Strive to ensure that their legal systems foster a safe environment free from anti-Semitic harassment, violence or discrimination in all fields of life;

Promote, a appropriate, educational programmers for combating anti-Semitism;

Promote remembrance of and, as appropriate, education about the tragedy of the Holocaust, and the importance of respect for all ethnic and religious groups;

Combat hate crimes, which can be fuelled by racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic Propaganda in the media and on the Internet;

Encourage and support international organization and NGO efforts in these areas;

Collect and maintain reliable information and statistics about anti-Semitic crimes, and other hate crimes, committed within their territory, report such information periodically to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), and make this information available to the public;

Endeavour to provide the ODIHR with the appropriate resources to accomplish the tasks agreed upon in the Maastricht Ministerial Decision on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination;

Work with the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to determine appropriate ways to review periodically the problem of anti-Semitism;

Encourage development of informal exchanges among experts in appropriate fora on best practices and experiences in law enforcement and education;

2. To task the ODIHR to:

Follow closely, in full co-operation with other OSCE institutions as well as the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and other relevant international institutions and NGOs, anti-Semitic incidents in the OSCE area making use of all reliable information available;

Report its findings to the Permanent Council and to the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting and make these findings public. These reports should also be taken into account in deciding on priorities for the work of the OSCE in the area of intolerance; and

Systematically collect and disseminate information throughout the OSCE area on best practices for preventing and responding to anti-Semitism and, if requested, offer advice to participating States in their efforts to fight anti-Semitism;

This decision will be forwarded to the Ministerial Council for endorsement at its Twelfth Meeting.

Mr. VOINOVICH. As this document makes clear, the OSCE, through its Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights—ODIHR, will for the first time monitor and report on acts of anti-Semitism. Moreover, the OSCE will keep track of positive steps countries are taking to address the problem. This will be high on the agenda at the OSCE Ministerial this December, and, next spring, Spain will host a meeting to follow-up on the specific recommendations made at the Berlin Conference, and to exercise oversight of the progress ODIHR is making in complying with the Berlin Declaration.

I have encouraged Secretary Powell to ensure that the United States not only supports these efforts, but that we do all that we can to make certain that the OSCE has the resources necessary to effectively do the job that it has been called upon to do to monitor anti-Semitism. I have been assured by our Ambassador to the OSCE, Stephan Minikes, that the United States will in fact do all that it can to support the work of the OSCE in this regard. Ambassador Minikes has also assured me that the OSCE, with the help of the

United States and other member countries, has the funding it needs to begin this crucial work. It is not enough to pass Declarations and to have tables. What we need to do is give the organization that is supposed to get the job done, the money and the resources.

While I had hoped to attend the Berlin Conference on anti-Semitism at the invitation of Secretary Powell, I was unable to be at this historic gathering due to pressing business here in the Senate. However, while the conference was underway, an article that I co-authored with a leading member in the fight against anti-Semitism in the German Bundestag, Professor Gert Weisskirchen, ran in the Washington Post.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article, entitled "Halting the New Hatred," be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 28, 2004]

HALTING THE NEW HATRED

Two years ago members of Congress and the German Bundestag launched a joint project that will come to fruition this week in Berlin. More than 500 representatives from the 55-nation Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) are meeting to formulate an action plan to tackle the growing problem of anti-Semitism.

Today anti-Semitism is no longer directed solely against Jews as individuals. "Israel, in effect, is emerging as the collective Jew among nations," writes Mortimer B. Zuckerman in U.S. News & World report. The old conspiracy theories, prejudices and "world domination" fantasies are emerging in new guises and are exploiting the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians.

While the "old" anti-Semitism sought to stigmatize Jews as individual threats to local coexistence, the "new" anti-Semitism seeks to stigmatize Israel as a collective threat to global coexistence. At the core of the new anti-Semitism is the "Auschwitz Lie"—that the Holocaust was invented as an excuse for Jews to converge on Palestine in order to oppress Arabs and conquer the world.

In both its old and new forms, anti-Semitism is merely an attempt to divert attention from the perpetrators' motives for committing acts of violence and injustice. In fighting anti-Semitism we must turn our attention toward strengthening peace and justice. The real battle against anti-Semitism lies ahead of us, and it will affect the foundations of our democracies.

Globalization is bringing ideas, cultures and lifestyles into contact—and sometimes conflict—with one another in new and unusual ways. Our task is to determine how our political systems can shape the outcome in a positive way. Will we be tolerant enough to create space for differences, and allow them to develop and flourish? Globalization means that we all have a shared fate.

Anti-Semitism is a problem for every OSCE state, because it seeks to break down the pillars of our societies: rule of law, equality, decency, tolerance and faith. Its violence is felt by all, regardless of faith. Its most diabolical offspring is terrorism, a force that in its embrace of death tears down everything in its path. Its aim is to destroy all that is humane.

In Berlin we will build on last year's groundbreaking OSCE conference in Vienna,

where governments expressed their willingness to take action. In Berlin we must concentrate on specific steps to which governments and societies commit themselves: collecting and analyzing data on hate crimes, training police and educating children for tolerance, and measuring the effectiveness of these steps. Rather than asking if we can afford to take such steps, we should ask whether we can afford not to when the costs of inaction are so great.

We are not fighting anti-Semitism solely in order to protect Jewish people, although the safety of any one group is intrinsic to the safety of all. We are waging this battle because we want to ensure that we do not again sink into barbarity—and we will win this struggle. Democracy is stronger than hate.

Mr. VOINOVICH. As we wrote then:

We are not fighting anti-Semitism solely in order to protect Jewish people, although the safety of any one group is intrinsic to the safety of all. We are waging this battle because we want to ensure that we do not again sink into barbarity—and we will win this struggle. Democracy is stronger than hate.

Today, I continue to repeat this message. We cannot become complacent in the fight against anti-Semitism. There is too much at stake.

I remain in close contact with the State Department to encourage our highest-ranking diplomats to make the fight against anti-Semitism a top priority in our bilateral relationships and interaction with international organizations such as the OSCE, the European Union and the United Nations.

At the end of last month, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman sent me a letter, in which he outlined some of the positive steps that our Government is taking to combat anti-Semitism. This includes our work with the OSCE, as well as efforts taken by United States Ambassadors and other officials in countries throughout the world. This is a priority, now, for our Ambassadors all over the world. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this letter be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS,

Washington, August 24, 2004.

Hon. GEORGE V. VOINOVICH,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR VOINOVICH: This is to follow up our conversation concerning the Department's efforts to combat anti-Semitism.

This Administration recognizes that anti-Semitism is a serious human rights problem and is strongly committed to fighting it. We are taking the following steps to combat anti-Semitism and related violence, using the range of tools at our disposal to advance human rights standards and norms.

Reporting: Two annual reports (the "International Religious Freedom Report" and the "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices") describe in detail both the trend of anti-Semitism throughout the world as well as the specific anti-Semitism incidents that have occurred during the reporting period. The Department formally reports on anti-Semitism every six months. These reports are posted on embassy websites for public

dissemination. In our instructions for the 2004 Country Report, we have made explicit the guidelines for reporting acts of violence against Jewish people and Jewish community institutions. Embassies have supplied detailed information on the level of anti-Semitism in their host country.

Demarches and Interventions: Our embassies abroad regularly press host countries on combating anti-Semitism, particularly in Europe where anti-Semitism has increased significantly during the past few years. Our ambassadors are very involved in this effort. We also maintain close contact with the local Jewish communities.

OSCE: The Department took the lead in convincing the OSCE to sponsor two conferences on combating anti-Semitism (in Vienna in June 2003, in Berlin in April 2004). Secretary Powell participated in the Berlin Conference. As a result of those conferences, the OSCE is implementing a process to monitor and report in a consistent manner on anti-Semitism incidents within the OSCE region.

These conferences were the first multilateral gatherings devoted solely to this subject and also the first to deal with anti-Semitism as a human rights issue. They have substantially increased awareness of this serious problem and the need to take strong steps to deal with it.

The United States also supports a third anti-Semitism meeting, scheduled for 2005 in Spain, to assess implementation by member states of the OSCE commitments.

Public Diplomacy: Department officers regularly address this issue in speeches to foreign audiences, the American public and in testimony before the Congress (see enclosure). The issue of anti-Semitism was a core component of testimony before the Congress on several occasions in recent months.

Holocaust Task Force: In 2003–2004, the United States chaired the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. This group now comprises 18 countries that promote understanding of the Holocaust as a means to prevent a recurrence of the hatred that resulted in that tragic event.

Speaking Out: Our Chiefs of Mission in Europe and Eurasia are under specific instructions to be both vigilant and vocal in denouncing anti-Semitism, and they do so.

Multilateral Efforts: The United States has been successful in including anti-Semitism language in several resolutions of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR). We will continue to press for inclusion of such language at the UNCHR and elsewhere.

I hope this overview of Department of State efforts to combat anti-Semitism is helpful to you. Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of further assistance. We want to work closely with you to end anti-Semitism.

Sincerely,

MARC GROSSMAN.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND COMBATING
ANTI-SEMITISM

The Department of State has been deeply involved in combating anti-Semitism. Policy level officials most frequently involved in our efforts to stem the tide of anti-Semitism include the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, the Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, the Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues and the Ambassador-at Large for International Religious Freedom.

These officials regularly testify before the Congress and make public speeches calling

attention to anti-Semitism and the need to combat it.

The Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues heads up the staff level work on this issue and coordinates closely with U.S. NGOs. He works particularly closely with the U.S. Ambassador to the OSCE who has represented the United States in the preparations for the separate OSCE conferences on anti-Semitism in Vienna in June 2003 and in Berlin in April 2004.

The Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor produces two annual reports (International Religious Freedom, Country Report on Human Rights Practices), both of which include extensive coverage of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic incidents.

Our ambassadors abroad and their staffs engage with host countries on this issue. Ambassadors have mentioned their concern about anti-Semitism in the host country during their initial meetings with the Prime Minister. Our ambassadors speak out forcefully and meet with visiting representatives of American Jewish organizations to review anti-Semitism trends.

Senior-level Department officials and officers travel from Washington to our posts in Europe and Eurasia. They meet with representatives of Jewish communities to discuss their concerns first-hand and to demonstrate Washington's strong interest.

The Vienna and Berlin OSCE conferences were largely the result of efforts by the United States to have the OSCE focus on anti-Semitism. Secretary Powell addressed the Berlin conference.

The conferences and a decision by the December 2003 Ministerial Council led to the establishment of an OSCE program to monitor and report on anti-Semitic developments in the OSCE region. The Conferences also sensitized all of the participants to the reality of the increased level of anti-Semitism in Europe in recent years and also generated considerable publicity on the issue.

The Department of State also works assiduously to include this issue in resolutions of the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies. In 2003, the U.S. delegation succeeded in getting language on anti-Semitism into the UN Commission on Human Rights resolution on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance. In 2004, the Department of State again succeeded in getting mention of the issue in the resolution on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance and also in the resolution on The Incompatibility between Democracy and Racism.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, the United States Government should be commended for the good work that is being done to raise awareness regarding growing anti-Semitism, both at home and abroad. However, our work is not done.

Earlier this year, I introduced Senate Bill 2292, the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004. This legislation requires the State Department to enhance its reporting on anti-Semitism worldwide. It requires the State Department to submit to Congress a report on anti-Semitism this November. This report must include detailed information for each country, including, first, a description of physical violence against or harassment of Jewish people or community institutions, such as schools, synagogues, or cemeteries, that occurred in that country, and, second, the response of the government of that country to such attacks;

What are they doing about that?

Third, actions by the government of that country to enact and enforce laws relating to the protection of the right to religious freedom with respect to Jewish people; and finally, the efforts by that government to promote anti-bias and tolerance education.

Following the report this November, my legislation requires enhanced reporting on anti-Semitism in two existing annual reports: the International Religious Freedom Report and the Human Rights Report.

The Senate passed this critical legislation with strong, bipartisan support on May 7, 2004. Twenty-four of my colleagues joined me as co-sponsors. This underscores the high priority that the United States Senate has given to the fight against anti-Semitism.

It is my sincere hope that the House of Representatives will soon pass this legislation, so that we can see the President sign the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act into law this year. We must do all that we can to move toward the goal of zero-tolerance of anti-Semitism in the world today. The United States must be the leader.

I want my colleagues to know that I made a vow back in 1982 that if the ugly head of anti-Semitism rose, I would do everything in my power to make sure that we cut it off.

I want my colleagues to know this is a passion with me, and I hope it becomes a passion with them. It is important to the world, and it is important to the United States of America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, let me start by thanking my colleague from Ohio for his passion and for his commitment on this issue. As you know, my colleague from Ohio is very tenacious when he digs into something. It is easy in many ways, perhaps, for me to speak about anti-Semitism. I am of the Jewish faith. It is a very personal issue for me, but if we just talk about it, it is not enough.

I have been through Yad Vashem, which is the museum on the Holocaust in Israel. And there is part of Yad Vashem that is dedicated to the righteous gentiles, those not of the Jewish faith who showed great courage and at times risked their lives and were outspoken in opposition to the Holocaust and helped the Jewish people and other victims of the Holocaust.

I have a deep and profound respect for my colleague from Ohio for all that he has done. That passion is real. It is reflected in all he does, and it is greatly appreciated by all of us concerned about this issue.

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, over 200 year ago, it was written:

The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt.

Mr. Jefferson came up with the short version: Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

The message is clear and it is urgent. We need to be constantly on the look out for hatred of any kind. And like the spouting of a dangerous weed, we need to deal with it when it is small and before it grows.

That is why a number of us have taken the floor to call attention to a disturbing rise in incidents of anti-Semitism. This is not a fringe expression of free speech. It is the leading edge of danger that has appeared all too often in the last 2,000 years of human history.

One of the ironies of this subject lies in the word "anti-Semitic." In common usage it means prejudice or bigotry against Jews. But when you look up the root word "Semite," you see it refers to members of the Jewish and Arab peoples. Strictly speaking to be "anti-Semitic" could mean expressing hatred of Arabs.

That illustrates an important point. A statement of hatred against any group of people should be abhorred by freedom loving people from every group. Because hatred has a way of spreading and hurting people all around its intended target.

As Dr. King wrote in his famous letter from the Birmingham jail, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

Six million Jews were killed in Europe during the Holocaust. We vowed we would never let it happen again.

But the new millennium has brought to Europe a wave of anti-Semitism unlike anything we have seen since the 1930s.

In France, which is home to Europe's largest Jewish community—with about 600,000—there have been and continue to be more anti-Semitic attacks than elsewhere in Europe. Just last month the Jewish cemetery in Lyon was spray-painted with swastikas, and other anti-Semitic symbols. In Paris this spring, a 12-year-old girl coming out of a Jewish school was attacked by two men who carved a swastika into her face.

Excuses abound for the rise in European anti-Semitism: The changing demography of Europe, as more Muslim immigrants arrive; anger about the renewed Intifada between Israel and the Palestinians; anti-Americanism or anti-globalism manifest as anti-Semitic behavior; and a resurgence of Neo-Nazis and skinhead movements.

At the end of the day, though, there is simply no excuse. Anti-Semitism takes many forms: defaming of Jewish cemeteries; arson of synagogues and Jewish schools; Holocaust denial or inadequate Holocaust education; biased media coverage; and graffiti that says "Sharon=Hitler." This comparison is not only grossly unfair to the Israeli Prime Minister, but more ominously minimizes what Hitler did and stood for. Ominously in this country, we have seen bumper stickers making similar comparisons with our President.

The winning entry in the British Political Cartoon Society's 2003 competi-

tion was a picture of Ariel Sharon eating the head of a Palestinian baby with a burning city in the background. "What's wrong," reads the caption, "you've never seen a politician kissing a baby?"

This is not humor, this is hate.

Some will say, "Surely a person can criticize the policies of the Israeli government without being an anti-Semite?" And the answer is of course, yes.

But when criticism of Israel is so prevalent and one-sided, when fully one-third of votes at the U.N. General Assembly criticize Israel and Israel only, when a European public opinion poll finds Israel to be considered the top threat to world peace—ahead of North Korea or Iran, when a U.N. conference in South Africa on racism devolves into a diatribe against Israel—and only Israel, when even non-violent responses by the government of Israel to defend its citizens against terrorism are disparaged, then you have a problem.

Natan Sharansky—a great man for his advocacy for the Soviet Jews and today an Israeli government official—has talked about three ways to determine whether criticism of Israel rises to the level of anti-Semitism. He talks about three Ds: Demonization, double standards, and delegitimization:

Demonization—when Israeli actions are blown so far out of proportion that the account paints Israel as the embodiment of all evil;

Double Standards—when Israel is criticized soundly for things any other government would be viewed as justified in doing, like protecting its citizens from terrorism;

Deligitimization—a denial of Israel's right to exist or the right of the Jewish people to aspire to live securely in a homeland.

When European criticism of Israel is so one-sided and so filled with exaggeration, it reflects a broader bias. And while this kind of criticism of Israel may not always equal anti-Semitism, it certainly creates an atmosphere that tolerates and breeds anti-Semitism.

In recent years, Europe has seen a marked increase in anti-Semitism, but Europe is not alone. Anti-Semitism abounds in the Middle East. It abounds in the Nadrasas, the schools, that teach hate. We have our own problems here in the United States, particularly on our college campuses. And one of the deadliest acts of terror in South America remains the 1994 bombing of the AMIA Jewish Community Center in Argentina—a crime for which not one perpetrator has yet been brought to justice.

The good news is that things in Europe have improved in the last year, and the key to that improvement is leadership.

The Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe has held important conferences on anti-Semitism. My colleague from Ohio has talked about that, introducing into the RECORD some of the evidence of the works

which have drawn attention to anti-Semitism and those that have led to the identification of anti-Semitism as a specific human rights issue as well as a commitment to track anti-Semitic incidents in order to build a better understanding of the problem.

French President Jacques Chirac, to his credit, has said when a Jew is attacked in France, it is an attack on the whole of France. He is right, not just because it is so morally repugnant to target any one group for this kind of violence and hate but because Jews are the canary in the coal mine. Remember, Hitler was not satisfied to simply wipe out the Jews; he set his sights on the disabled, gypsies, Blacks, and others.

Let me reflect about the situation in the United States, particularly on our college campuses. College is supposed to be a place where young people are exposed to diverse experiences and other peoples. Tragically, anti-Semitism in America has found a home on college campuses. There, anti-Semitism at times is fashionable and politically correct. We can forget about diversity of opinion when it comes to Israel.

On our campuses, anti-Semitism looks like virulently anti-Israel professors of Middle Eastern studies; harassment of Jewish students; pro-Palestinian rallies have crossed the line into anti-Semitism, with slogans like "Hitler did not finish the job;" fliers around campuses depicting Palestinian children slaughtered according to Jewish rites under American license; vandalism of Hillel buildings at Rutgers in September of this year, at UC Berkeley in the winter of 2002, at the University of Colorado in March of 2002 and again in September of that year.

The poster behind me is of a photograph taken at Cornell University: Weapons of mass destruction. Leader is a war criminal. U.N. resolution occupies foreign countries, with a notation "bomb Israel."

It crosses the line. This is not about free speech. This is about hate. This is not something we should see on college campuses, but we do, far too often. That is unfortunate. That is wrong.

A professor at UC Berkeley presented the following course description for a poetry class:

The brutal Israeli military occupation of Palestine [ongoing] since 1948, has systematically displaced, killed, and maimed millions of Palestinian people. And yet from under the brutal weight of occupation, Palestinians have produced their own culture and poetry of resistance . . . This class takes as a starting point the right of Palestinians to fight for their own self-determination.

That is for a poetry class. And the posting ends with the suggestion, "Conservative thinkers are encouraged to seek other sections."

In 2001 to 2002, anti-Semitic incidents at college campuses increased to a worrisome 24 percent, according to the Stephen Roth Institute at Tel Aviv University.

I read an account of a Berkeley student, Micki Weinberg, who was walking

to campus September 12, 2001, the day after the horrific attacks on our Nation. At the entrance to the campus there were huge sheets of blank paper spread out at an impromptu memorial for students, faculty, and others to write thoughts. He saw a message written in big letters. Micki Weinberg set out to add his own thoughts, until he saw one message written in big letters: "It's the Jews, stupid."

In closing, I return to the idea that hatred against Jewish people is everyone's concern. I was in Israel a couple weeks ago. The vision that this President has and so many have had is Israel living side by side with a Palestinian state, people free to live their lives and raise their families and grow up with the sense of safety and security. That is what it is about. Safety and security is a prelude to peace and people living together, but the level of hatred, which in the end is a denial of the existence of Israel, simply goes too far. That level of hatred is spread throughout Europe. It has spread to college campuses. It is wrong.

The Reverend Martin Niemöller was a Lutheran pastor living in Germany in the 1930s. His words should be taken to heart by all:

First they came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up, because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up, because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up, because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time there was no one left to speak up for me.

We have seen genocide in Europe. We have seen it in Rwanda. We are seeing it today in Sudan. We need to speak up against hatred wherever it rears its head because it literally threatens everyone. The question is, How do we get the hate genie back in the bottle? The genie is out. There is too much hatred. We see it all around us. We see it certainly in what we are seeing today with anti-Semitism. We are seeing it on the American political scene. We have to get the genie of hate back in the bottle. We can do it by educating. We can do it by strengthening our families. We can do it by strengthening our faith, by doing what we are doing today, speaking out on the floor in the hallowed Halls of this great institution and telling the people of this country and telling the people of this world that anti-Semitism is wrong, that we must do all in our power to speak out and make sure it stops. And when it does, the world will be a safer and better place.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I am pleased to be in the Senate today with my colleague, NORM COLEMAN. NORM is one of my esteemed new colleagues and can speak with considerable insight on the issue of anti-Semitism, as he hails from the Jewish faith and genealogy. I honor him for being down here speaking about an issue that has been a can-

cer in the human soul for a long time, and that is anti-Semitism.

I learned at my mother's knee to fight against bigotry and discrimination. I am not Jewish. I was born into the Mormon faith to Mormon parents who in our history knew something of persecution. In fact, many of my Jewish families are surprised to learn that extermination orders have actually been ordered before, even before the pogroms that have beset the tribes of Judah. They were once issued by a Governor of Missouri on the Mormon pioneers, and they set about exterminating them and drove them literally from what was then the United States.

So as a young boy, I had an interest in history. I would watch newsreels of what had recently happened in Germany to the Jewish people. I had a particular sensitivity to that and, again, learned from my mother to befriend the children of Israel.

But what besets the human heart in the form of anti-Semitism is ancient in its origin, even prophesied in Jewish history and Scripture. This morning, as I contemplated Rosh Hashanah, which is the new year, the beginning of the world in the Jewish calendar, I turn to a verse of Scripture that I remember reading many times throughout my life, and that is in the 49th chapter of Genesis where the prophet Jacob is giving blessings to his twelve sons. We know the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Jacob had four wives. His first wife was Leah, and Leah bore him a number of sons, but one of them was named Judah. The blessing that Jacob gave to Judah is very instructive. He says:

Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee.

Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

If you can break down that language, you will understand that Judah was a leader among the sons of Jacob, and in this patriarchal blessing he was given a leadership role, and he was to be, and his descendants, something of a thorn in the neck of his enemies.

The Torah is full of promises, predictions, prophecies of the Diaspora, of the affliction of the Tribe of Judah. Indeed, there are places in the Torah where it says that all nations will be turned against Israel. The question for us, as human beings and as Americans, is, do we turn against Israel?

I have regarded it as one of the important cornerstones of American foreign policy, that since the Holocaust in the Second World War, the American Nation has stood by the Tribe of Judah in the form of the State of Israel, defended its right to exist, and been an ally to it in its darkest days.

The feelings of anti-Semitism in this world, they ebb and they flow. But I

would suggest to you, and all listening, Mr. President, that anti-Semitism is something of a barometer of the human heart. And when we have those feelings, we are on the wrong side. We need not have those feelings. We must not have those feelings because if too many Americans do, the American Nation will join other nations who turn on the State of Israel and the Tribe of Judah.

So, for me, I guess you can discern from my remarks this is a principle of faith, it is a belief that I hold deeply, that part of my public service has, as a cornerstone, friendship to the Jewish people. So as I contemplate what is happening in the world today, as nations turn against Israel again, I am determined to push back. And I am determined to speak out against vicious lies that have been told for centuries against the Jewish people. I would like to share a few of them with you.

I touched briefly upon the depravity of the Second World War, that resulted in the misery and death of 6 million Jews. Yet that spirit that led to such a policy exists in some places even still. Unfortunately, it exists in many of the lands of the Middle East.

Let me give you a few examples.

In November and December of 2002, Egypt aired on state television a series based on the forged and notorious anti-Semitic tract, the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" is a fraudulent document that reported the alleged proceedings of a 19th century conference of Jews during which they discussed plans to overthrow Christianity and control the world. It has been proven a fraud time and again. Yet some governments of civilized nations continue to propagate this heinous lie.

The Saudi Government daily newspaper Al-Riyadh, in a March 2002 article titled "The Jewish Holiday of Purim," charged that Jews used the blood of non-Jewish youngsters in preparing their pastries for the Purim holiday.

To be precise, the columnist writes:

Before I go into the details, I would like to clarify that the Jews' spilling human blood to prepare pastry for their holidays is a well-established fact, historically and legally, all throughout history. This was one of the main reasons for the persecution and exile that were their lot in Europe and Asia at various times.

That is a hideous lie. Yet it is reported in a newspaper in Saudi Arabia.

Also reported in this same paper, Al-Riyadh, a Saudi Crown Prince remarked to a gathering of leading government officials and academics in Jeddah that "Zionists" and "followers of Satan" are to blame for recent terrorist attacks in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in particular, a May 1 terrorist attack on foreign oil workers in the city of Yanbu that killed 6 people and injured 25.

This was done by al-Qaida, not the Jews. Yet a Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia felt to blame it on the Jews. Specifically, the Crown Prince said: "Zionism is behind everything."

Another issue, a journal titled "The Muslim Soldier," which is published by the Religious Affairs Department of the Saudi Armed Forces, recently contained an article claiming:

The majority of revolutions, coups d'etat, and wars which have occurred in the world, those that are occurring, and those that will occur, are almost entirely the handiwork of the Jews. They turned to [these methods] in order to implement the injunctions of the fabricated Torah, the Talmud, and the "Protocols [of the Elders of Zion]," all of which command the destruction of all non-Jews in order to achieve their goal—namely, world domination.

Again, these are disgusting lies that are propagated supposedly by Syria's people.

The author of an article in an Egyptian Government daily titled "The Lie About the Burning of the Jews" defended his piece on Egyptian television by saying:

This article was scientific research, which relied on many European and American sources concerning this lie, one of the lies upon which the State of Israel was established—the lie about the burning of the Jews in the Nazis' ovens.

I have been to those ovens. I have been to Auschwitz. I have seen the pictures. I have seen the ashes. Any representation like that must be refuted in places like this.

And in Syria, according to the State Department's 2003 International Religious Freedom Report, the:

Government primarily cites tense relations with Israel as the reason for barring Jews from government employment and for exempting them from military service obligations.

Despite the fact that state-sponsored anti-Semitism is more prevalent in the Arab world, it unfortunately exists in other countries as well. In certain states of India, schools are required to use textbooks that condone Nazism, including detailing its achievements and omitting any reference to Nazi extermination policies or concentration camps.

In Belarus, anti-Semitic literature is sold in government buildings and in stores directly connected with the Belarusian Orthodox Church.

The fact that this kind of hatred exists in the hearts of some people is something that we unfortunately are unable to control. But what we can do, what we must do, is express our distaste and indeed our revulsion that governments around the world feel it is appropriate to promote such hatred.

At the G-8 summit in Sea Island, Georgia, this June, President Bush reached out to our allies to establish a Partnership with the Broader Middle East and North Africa in an effort to advance freedom, democracy, and prosperity in the region. I support the President's approach for peace in the Middle East, and I believe it will only occur if the countries at stake are working together.

So I ask, if governments are actively supporting anti-Semitism and even, at times, the destruction of the Jewish

state, how will they be able to convince their populations that peaceful coexistence with Israel is an appropriate course of action? How will they expect their children to live in harmony with their Jewish peers? How will they ever reconcile their malevolent views of the Jewish people?

State-sponsored anti-Semitism around the world is a sinister fact with potentially devastating consequences. We must work tirelessly to highlight its insidious nature at every opportunity. And there are many friends in the Jewish community who ought to be thanked for their efforts to try to stem the tide of anti-Semitism: Specifically, Jess Hordes and Abe Foxman at the Anti-Defamation League for their work on this vital front as well as many of my colleagues here who stand in the Senate to bring attention to this issue.

Anti-Semitism cannot take root unless it starts in our hearts individually. If it starts in our hearts individually, it goes to our homes, our neighborhoods, our schools, and then it hits into our governments. That America never be one of those governments turned against Israel is my hope and my prayer.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, as the Senate prepares to adjourn for the Jewish holiday of Rosh Hashanah, I would like to address a recent rise in anti-Semitic events abroad.

In the 50 years since the atrocities committed against the Jewish people in Europe during World War II, we have seen other occasional incidents of anti-Semitism. While anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism are regrettably still commonplace in the Middle East, recent events in France and Indonesia have shown us these feelings of intolerance are on the rise internationally.

Israel has a unique position in the modern world. Its cities and landmarks are sacred to Christian, Jewish, and Muslims cultures. And today, as throughout much of recorded history, it is a land struggling to find peace. Yet despite the conflicts of history and culture, Israel has had the courage to stand strong with the United States of America as an ally in the war on terror and a pillar of strength in an unstable region.

Anti-Semitism, racism, and bigotry all serve to undermine the efforts of peace loving people throughout the world. These misguided prejudices are chains that hold us back from compromise and harmony. The people of America, Europe, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia should not accept the anti-Semitism that has become all too prevalent in the world. As we work toward peace it is important that people from all nations approach international relations with an open mind.

I am pleased that my colleagues in the Senate have brought attention to the growing problem of anti-Semitism in the world today. As several of our colleagues celebrate the Jewish New Year this coming week, let us all take

the time to think about ways we can promote understanding and acceptance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader.

ROSH HASHANAH

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, this evening, Jewish families and communities will come together to celebrate Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, and offer their prayers for a sweet and peaceful year ahead.

Growing up in Aberdeen, my family was close to three Jewish families, the Franks, Feinsteins, and the Preds. They introduced me to the Rosh Hashanah celebration. I have always remembered the warmth of their celebration as well as the generosity and friendship they offered to a young Catholic boy growing up in the neighborhood.

I wanted to take this opportunity to extend my wishes for a Shana Tova, a good year, to my friends in the Jewish community across the country and around the world.

This year, Rosh Hashanah arrives at an auspicious anniversary. This month, we mark the 350th anniversary of the first Jewish settlement in America.

In September of 1654, a small ship carrying 23 Jews from Brazil arrived at the southern tip of Manhattan.

They had been told of a new land founded in the name of religious freedom. So this small group of settlers set out across the ocean to find a home where they could live in peace and follow the tenets of their faith and the dictates of their conscience.

As has been the case with so many immigrants of every faith, from every part of the world and every generation since, they found that home in America.

Throughout the generations, the American Jewish community has been a leader in the effort to ensure that the fundamental American value of religious freedom is honored and protected.

While the history of the American Jewish community offers this Rosh Hashanah a special sweetness, the Jewish community and its friends welcome the High Holy Days with a certain anxiety, as well.

While Israel has taken important steps toward increasing its own security, Israeli families still live under the shadow of terrorism, and the Palestinian Authority has yet to take concrete steps to end the violence.

Just 2 weeks ago, two simultaneous attacks by Hamas suicide bombers took the lives of 16 Israelis. It came as a terrible reminder of the fear that continues to pervade the lives of Israelis.

In addition, friends of Israel have also watched with growing concern as Iran, which is sworn to the destruction of the Jewish state, takes steps toward becoming a nuclear power.

The instability in Iraq, if not brought under control, may one day threaten